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HATTIE ELIZABETH LEWIS MEMORIAL
ESSAYS ON APPLIED CHRISTIANITY

AN APPLICATION OF THE TEACHINGS OF
CHRIST TO THE AMERICAN JAP-
ANESE PROBLEM

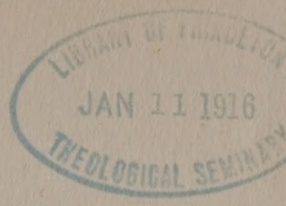
BY

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HERBERT FLINT

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By **HERBERT FLINT, of Girard, Kansas**

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AN APPLICATION OF THE TEACHINGS OF
CHRIST TO THE AMERICAN JAPANESE
PROBLEM

BY

HERBERT FLINT

PREFACE

This memorial was established in the University of Kansas in 1911, in memory of Hattie Elizabeth Lewis, a former student of the University. It takes the form of an annual competition in essay writing, open to all students of the University of Kansas. The general theme of the essays submitted in this competition is "The Application of the Teachings of Jesus to the Practical Affairs and Relations of Life, Individual, Social, Industrial, Commercial, or Political;" but each essay must deal with a single definite subject, or a single phase of life. In the competition for the year 1914-15, the University committee in charge of the competition itself prescribed the particular phase of the general theme to which contestants were to be confined: "The Application of the Teachings of Jesus to the Relations of States (Nations).'' Each essay is required to be not less than 5,000 nor more than 10,000 words in length.

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AN APPLICATION OF THE TEACHINGS OF CHRIST TO THE AMERICAN JAPANESE PROBLEM

The United States has an international race problem to solve—that of the Japanese immigrants on the Pacific coast. What are we going to do about this problem, and when? How much longer can we afford to play the game of recognizing Japan as a first-class world power and still continue to refuse her citizens in this country rights granted to immigrants from other world powers such as, for example, Russia or Italy? Can we hope effectively to insist on the “open door” and “fair play” in China, where Japan is more and more making her influence felt, when we do not play a fair game at home? Need we expect any one in the Orient to consider us sincere in our professions of friendship and in our hopes for world peace as long as we discriminate against Japanese now residing in the United States, and practically exclude others from entering?¹

That such questions can be asked concerning the relations between Japan and the United States shows that these two countries are not on the terms they should be. The explanation of why they are not includes, on the one hand, the story of an international friendship as touching as it was unique and, on the other hand, an account of the unnecessary breaking of that friendship largely through national narrow-mindedness on the part of the United States. That there should be *some* misunderstanding and friction between the two nations is, everything considered, the most natural thing in the world. The United States, the western projection of Latin and Teutonic civilization, has met on the edges of the Pacific the centuries-old East,—in this case, a part of the East that until recently had been completely isolated for centuries,—a civilization based on exclusion of all foreign influences, a national life that had turned in on itself. No wonder there were complications when these two long divergent streams reunited. It looks, however, as if the break was largely a needless one.

The first chapter in the story concerns the mushroom development of Japan into a world power: her unpleasant encounter with

1. *Survey*, 30:322.

the white race three centuries ago, the two and a half centuries of isolation that followed, her "opening" by the United States, and her subsequent growth, principally under the influence of American stimuli. The admission of Japan into the ranks of the world powers has attracted wide notice in the last twenty-five years without much reference being made to the history back of that entrance. Most of us today think of Japan only in connection with her fleets and armies victorious over the Russians, or her sinister relations to "Yellow Peril" talk, and, more recently, her growing influence in the affairs of China. We remember more or less vaguely that Commodore Perry of this country "opened" Japan to the "civilized" world about sixty years ago; if we are asked about Japan we murmur something about *jinrikishas*² or "Madame Butterfly," and agree that we don't want any "Japs" in the United States: that their place is in Japan and that ours is here. We forget for the moment her former experience with the white race and the effects of the contact.

But the story of that experience is a significant one.³ About the year 1553 Frances Xavier and some Roman Catholic missionaries visited Japan, were welcomed heartily, and were given an opportunity to preach. In the end thousands of Japanese became Christianized—perhaps a million. But the characteristic exploitation of the Japanese by the whites that followed the introduction of Christianity and firearms made things look different to the "heathen". The result was that after sixty years Christianity was exterminated via the sword and exclusion; foreigners were barred from the country, and the natives were not allowed to leave its shores; the Japanese fleet was destroyed; commerce ceased; the nation was completely isolated, trying to forget that it had ever met the white race, the "White Peril" of the West.

In 1853 Japan awoke from her isolation and exclusion, the Rip Van Winkle among nations. She had not had the stimulus of international relations for two and a half centuries; her population, hemmed in on an area too small to allow natural expansion, had been kept down by merciless infanticide, disease, and famine.⁴ Her policy of isolation had been so successful that nothing but a

2. *Century*, 86:597.

3. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 233-235.

4. *Century*, 86:600, 603.

national making-over, convulsive in nature, could ever restore her to a position of independence and power. She awoke to find Perry's fleet in her waters, unwilling longer to listen to exclusion, and powerful enough to enforce any demands. The result was the "opening" of Japan by the United States.⁵

In spite of this virtually forced opening, Japan turned first of all to the United States for guidance and help. Between 1869 and 1900 Japan imported, mostly from this country, more than 5,000 experts and assistants in every craft and profession, including 1,200 school teachers, to teach her the best in our civilization.⁶ She sent students abroad to learn what other nations had to show her, and brought them back to head her schools and industries. She revised her constitution, studied English, and translated the best literature of the West into her own tongue; in short, in a half century she absorbed, after a fashion, the most immediate and practical elements of Western civilization, including all the technic of modern warfare. Then, in the dawn of a new national pride, she prevailed over China, and after defeating Russia, stepped unchallenged into the front ranks of modern world powers.

The nation that most influenced Japan in this half century was undoubtedly the United States; and the grateful recognition of what America did for them has long been the theme of the Japanese in discussing their relations with this country. Their esteem is shown in many ways. For example, our great men are their idols; there are six biographies of Lincoln in Japanese; anecdotes of George Washington are inserted in the text-books of the elementary schools in Japan; the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin is used in many schools as a text-book in English; and among the boys of Japan, "Wagner, Cobb, McGraw, Mathewson have won an admiration bordering on worship."⁷ That the influence of the United States has permeated every section of Japan seems certain, and the statement that until recent years Japan looked up to the United States as to an older brother seems no exaggeration.⁸

So much for the formation of the friendship; now for the breaking of it. For beyond a doubt the friendship has been strained if not actually broken; indeed, it may be said definitely that Japan's

5. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, p. 235.
6. *Century*, 86:597-605.

7. *Japan to America*, pp. 219-229.
8. *Outlook*, 104:755-756.

feelings of good will and trust for the United States have changed to resentment and distrust within the last ten years because of our treatment of the Japanese immigrants in this country. The history of the breaking of the friendship will first be traced by certain events occurring between 1900 and 1913; the causes of the break will then be set forth, weighed, and a remedy suggested.

The Japanese problem did not definitely exist prior to 1900.⁹ The census figures for Japanese immigration show why:¹⁰ in 1890 there were but 2,039 Japanese in the United States; in 1900, 24,326. As a matter of fact, the Japanese question is an outgrowth of the Chinese problem, and was at first an incidental issue in connection with the matter of Chinese exclusion. "The first strong note of opposition to the immigration of Japanese laborers came from a mass meeting" called at San Francisco on May 7, 1900, "to consider the re-enactment of the Chinese exclusion law, soon to expire,"¹¹—the same year that an unusually large number of Japanese arrived.¹² In addition to the anti-Chinese resolution then passed, it was further resolved to "urge the adoption of an act of Congress or such other measure as might be necessary for the total exclusion of all classes of Japanese other than members of the diplomatic staff. 'Such a law has become a necessity not only on the grounds set forth in the policy of Chinese exclusion, but because of additional reasons resting in the fact that the assumed virtue of the Japanese—*i. e.*, their partial adoption of American customs—makes them the more dangerous as competitors.'"¹³ The following January, therefore, the governor of California, in his message to the legislature calling attention to the expiration of the Chinese exclusion act of 1892, said: "The peril from Chinese labor finds a similar danger in the unrestricted importation of Japanese laborers. The cheapness of such labor is likewise a menace to American labor."¹⁴ As a result, a joint resolution was adopted by the legislature and a memorial was addressed to Congress praying for the restriction of Japanese immigration. The legislature of Nevada did the same in that year.

The next date of any marked discussion of the Japanese question

9. *Senate Document* 633, pp. 167-177, which is quoted hereafter more or less nearly verbatim.

10. *Senate Document* 633, pp. 5-32.

11. *Survey*, 30:333.

12. *Senate Document* 633, p. 5.

13. *Senate Document* 633, p. 167.

14. *Senate Document* 633, p. 168.

was 1905. Immigration in the two preceding years had been increasing in spite of discouragement offered by the Japanese government. In 1905, therefore, the San Francisco "Chronicle" began publishing articles on the Japanese question, calling attention to the number of Japanese in the country, discussing the supposed evils connected with their immigration, and emphasizing the dangers of future immigration of that kind. In March of that year, as a result, the legislature became deeply interested—and has been ever since—in the Japanese question, and adopted, as did the legislature of Nevada, a resolution demanding that action be taken without delay, by treaty or otherwise, to limit the further immigration of Japanese laborers.¹⁵

So far the agitation had been hit and miss, and mainly concerned the influx of a large amount of cheap Japanese labor. But a bit of friction more difficult to allay started May 6, 1905, when the board of education in San Francisco by a resolution declared its intention to establish separate schools for Chinese and Japanese. Nothing was done, however, for more than a year. In the meantime, the fire, in April after the 1906 earthquake, had destroyed most of the school buildings of the city, including that attended by most of the Japanese pupils. The difficulty of providing for pupils of any race again brought up the Japanese question. In addition, considerable feeling had been aroused against the Japanese in the restaurant business. After the fire they had raised the price of food and in the midst of the wholesale suffering had incurred the hearty dislike of the "white" sufferers. In October of that year the board of education passed a "separate school order" transferring most of the Japanese pupils to the "Oriental school". This was located in the center of the city, far from the homes of most of the pupils transferred. The parents objected, the government at Tokio took a hand, and the Japanese question was at once an international one. At the same time the anger against the Japanese restaurant keepers took the form of a boycott conducted by the Cooks and Waiters' Union against the Japanese eating houses, a boycott which was accompanied by much violence toward the Japanese of all classes. A Federal investigation followed, the school order was withdrawn, and the so-called "Gen-

15. *Senate Document* 633, pp. 167-171.

tleman's Agreement'' was entered into between the United States and Japan, whereby the Japanese government agreed "to discontinue giving passports to laborers desiring to come directly to the United States." An immigration act approved February 20, 1907, excluded from the continental United States Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled or unskilled, who had received passports to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii. Hence the United States by agreement with Japan excluded laborers coming directly, and by law excluded all coming indirectly. Then and there Japanese exclusion practically went into effect—an exclusion in some ways "more effective than that of Chinese under our drastic Chinese exclusion law."¹⁶

In 1907 and 1909 anti-Japanese bills in the West took all manner of forms and caused the Federal government on both occasions to take a hand. Especially in 1909 was the sentiment against the Japanese strong, seventeen more bills appearing in the California legislature, the principal ones being an "alien land bill" and a "school segregation" measure; but no anti-Japanese bill was passed. Other scattering legislation in the West was similar in tone during these years. It may be said, in general, that there was much difference of opinion as to the advisability of some of the measures directed against the Japanese, but that the prevailing opinion seemed to be in favor of the restriction of the further immigration of laborers. Only now and then, however, had the "immigration of Japanese been considered a problem of commanding importance in other Western states than California," probably owing to the greater number of Japanese in that State, the activity of the Asiatic Exclusion League,¹⁷ and the previous agitation against the Chinese, which undoubtedly had helped to develop feeling against the Japanese.¹⁸

The climax of the Japanese question came in 1913, when the California legislature succeeded in again making the issue an international one. Its chief measure was the Webb Bill¹⁹ which, when passed, provided that Japanese could not lease agricultural land in the State for more than three years at a stretch and that they

16. *Survey*, 30:332; *Senate Document* 633, pp. 168-169.

17. *Survey*, 30:336.

18. *Senate Document* 633, pp. 169-171.

19. For the text see Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 333-335.

could not purchase, permanently own or inherit agricultural land.²⁰ As first introduced the bill was much more violent against the Japanese, to such an extent that President Wilson sent Secretary Bryan to appear before the California legislature. Together with Governor Johnson, Mr. Bryan canvassed the situation, but against his protest the bill was finally passed, the Californians maintaining that it in no way conflicted with any treaty between the United States and Japan.²¹ Without doubt it was the final act that strained to the limit the ancient friendship which had existed between the two countries. Moreover, it created a needless break, since the bill has been characterized by an authority on the Japanese in California as being entirely "unnecessary, unjust, and impolitic."²² The situation created by this bill has remained practically unchanged since 1913.

These constitute the outward evidences of anti-Japanese feeling. Let us now examine the real causes underlying the general sentiment on the Pacific coast, and particularly in California, that the Japanese must be excluded if not discriminated against contrary to the spirit if not the letter of our treaty with Japan. Briefly, there are two reasons: one concerns purely economic questions, and is based in the main on the difference in the standard of living between Americans and competing Japanese; the other narrows itself down into a race problem—race friction, race prejudice. That is, the residents of the Pacific coast fear an overwhelming inroad of Asiatics, and they do not think that Japanese and Americans ever can "get along well in the same neighborhood." Complicating the real problems there have been, without question, much exaggeration of the real peril and much misrepresentation of the character and the conditions of the Japanese in the United States, so that what may be justly said of some members of the Japanese race has come to be generally accepted as applicable to the whole. As a Japanese proverb puts it, "If one dog barks a falsehood, ten thousand others spread it as truth."²³

To start at the beginning of the Japanese problem one must reckon in the Chinaman.²⁴ He was welcomed when he first entered

20. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, p. 333.

21. *Outlook*, 104:6-8.

22. *Survey*, 30:332-336.

23. *Japan to America*, p. 44.

24. The Chinese inheritance is generally agreed upon. See Coolidge: *Chinese Immigration*; *Outlook*, 61:61-65; *Forum*, 30:66-76.

this country, especially in the early days of California, when his cheap and plentiful labor filled a real need. Later, he was persecuted in every possible way, when hard times threw native labor out of work, and when his competition with American labor in general was made doubly telling through his lower standards of living. He suffered everything, from stoning to cold-blooded murder; he worked long hours for a low wage, living for almost nothing under conditions that white men could not survive and, in strong contrast to the Japanese, submitted to his persecutors and was finally barred by the Chinese exclusion acts. But the race prejudice he aroused and endured during a half century has lived after him; within the last fifteen years it has been transferred almost unabated to the Japanese.

Another thing that must be reckoned with in considering the Japanese problem is "jingoism,"²⁵ which in its different forms varies from the efforts of the Asiatic Exclusion League²⁶ and the yellow newspaper seeking sensational news, to those of the politician trying to get votes on an anti-Japanese platform, and those of the armament manufacturer who needs war talk to sell his wares. Without doubt there have been much misrepresentation and exaggeration of the Japanese problem through these agents; and very often the misrepresentation is bolder than one would think possible. Lying headlines²⁷ and false news are the commonest sort of "jingoism." Again, all three political parties in California have had anti-Japanese planks in their platforms;²⁸ the Asiatic Exclusion League has juggled figures;²⁹ and as to the "Yellow Peril," any one knows what a mine of sensational material that has been since its promulgation by the German Emperor a few years ago, although no one can estimate how much armament it has sold. The effect of all this agitation has been, in general, to stimulate the feeling that the Japanese are all wrong, and to lend color to the belief in California and other Western States that exclusion and discrimination are the only solutions for the Japanese problem.

The influence of this agitation, inherited prejudice, and misrepresentation, shows in the consideration of the purely economic side of the Japanese question. Let us examine, first, the matter of Japanese

25. *Sunset*, 31:122-127.

26. *Senate Document* 633, pp. 169-173.

27. *Outlook*, 104:635.

28. *Senate Document* 633, p. 173.

29. *Survey*, 30:336.

labor—the issue that probably concerns most intimately the question of the difference in the standard of living between Japanese and Americans. The facts are that, like the Chinese, the Japanese, in their eagerness to obtain work, at first tended to underbid other labor.³⁰ This they could easily do because they could live much more cheaply, were a very mobile body of labor, and for the most part had no families with them. In the beginning they found it easy to get over here through the aid of immigrant companies; Japanese labor contractors secured work for them; they lived under conditions that white labor could not endure, occupying in many cases the deserted huts left by the Chinese whose place they took; and in the agricultural regions where much labor is needed for a few weeks in the year, their mobility gave them an advantage over other labor almost amounting to a monopoly. Nevertheless, so far as the mere presence of 100,000 Japanese in this country is concerned, the labor problem could never be said to have been a vital one; only excessive numbers could have made it so. Aside from the fact that the wages of the Japanese have tended after a time to rise and approach those of white labor, even more important is the fact that the agricultural labor of the Japanese has gone largely into work that other classes of labor shun. This is especially true of the beet industry, berry picking, and other work where bending labor is needed.³¹ The Japanese have gained almost a monopoly there, but it can hardly be said that they displace other labor; rather, they tend to develop industries never before possible. Indeed, the decreasing Japanese population of the last five years has in some cases threatened to cripple industries largely dependent on Japanese labor, as agriculturists have had occasion to complain.³² In general, then, it may be said with reasonable certainty that within certain limits of immigration the Japanese labor question is not a grave one, but that with unrestricted immigration it probably would be a serious problem.

The Japanese land question follows the labor situation in its main features. The Japanese is an ambitious fellow, quite the opposite of the stolid Chinaman, and just as soon as possible he tries to rise from his position as day laborer to that of independent farmer or, at least, of tenant, just as the Japanese in the cities have left their first

30. *Survey*, 30:335.

31. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 325-327; *World's Work*, 261:95-201.

32. *Japanese American Monthly Review*, July, 1913, p. 9.

positions as servants as soon as possible in order to go into business for themselves. This tendency to become independent³³ is a striking characteristic of the Japanese immigrant, so much so that his thrift and quick adoption of "Yankee" business methods have been used as reasons for his exclusion.³⁴ Then, too, since he knew little English and was shunned by the Americans, he naturally kept to himself, gathering others about him until in a neighborhood a Japanese colony would spring up, just as other groups of Germans, Russians and the like have gathered, with clannish tendencies, all over the United States. In his eagerness to become independent the Japanese has often paid unusually high prices to get what he wanted,³⁵ although some critics have said that he decreases the price of land in the neighborhood where he settles. The usual result was that communities in which the Japanese gathered in dominant numbers raised a cry of danger: the Japanese were about to monopolize the best land of the state. But the real danger of their seizing the best agricultural land of California, for example, was greatly exaggerated, as is shown by the report of the Special State Investigation of 1909, of the Japanese in California: twenty sections would have covered the entire ownership of land by Japanese in California in 1909.³⁶ The amount of leased land controlled by the Japanese was somewhat larger, but the results were the same: an aggregate of all the land ever owned at one time by the Japanese in the United States would have amounted to such an infinitesimal fraction of the land of even one State that to pass a law prohibiting them from owning land, or from leasing it for more than three consecutive years, because of the fear that they were about to monopolize the best land, seems hysterical, to say the least.³⁷ Only an overwhelming Japanese immigration could possibly make their acquisition of land a serious menace to the opportunities of Americans.³⁸

The foregoing must suffice for the discussion of the purely economic problem presented by the Japanese immigrants. Objections to them economically on other scores because of their competition and skilful adoption of "Yankee" business methods could be cited, but to no different effect. Whether unlimited Japanese immigration

33. *Survey*, 30:334.

34. *Japanese American Monthly Review*, July, 1913, p. 5.

35. *Survey*, 30:336.

36. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 316-323.

37. *Survey*, 30:333.

38. *Survey*, 30:332.

could be permitted by this country is, it seems to me, the only important economic question involved in the Japanese problem.

The other cause of objection to the Japanese, and the main one, is based on racial differences.³⁹ This problem, more subtle and more complex than the economic one, and harder to touch by figures or reason, has also been exaggerated and misrepresented, partly through "jingoism" and the legacy left by the Chinaman, and partly through ignorance and misunderstanding on the part of both Japanese and Americans. Broadly speaking, it is a race problem involving political and moral considerations (including social questions). The cry that the Japanese are objectionable because they are not citizens may be dismissed at once; there is every reason to believe that the Japanese would embrace citizenship if they had a chance. On moral and racial grounds, then, the Japanese seem so objectionable that the feeling of race prejudice against them involves the great problem to be overcome before the Japanese question is settled.

First, on moral grounds, many serious charges, some of them very sweeping and generally accepted as applicable to the entire race, are made against the Japanese. A good example⁴⁰ is the allegation that the Japanese are extremely immoral, that with them "prostitution is a characteristic industry."⁴¹ Toward refuting all charges of sexual immorality I shall offer only one bit of evidence, and that is an explanation of the "Picture Bride" movement.⁴² This is a means by which Japanese men in this country can get brides from Japan. The young man here sends his picture home and his parents or friends pick out a wife for him. Pictures are exchanged, and presently the bride-to-be arrives in America and becomes a wife. This may sound like a clever means to import prostitutes, but the evidence is almost all in favor of the Japanese. The custom of Japanese marriage through having another select the bride is a common one, even when both parties reside in Japan. Further good evidence is the very fact that the young man sends back to Japan for a bride from his own race. It seems rather to the credit of the Japanese that they should desire to marry and settle down here through this long-distance

39. *Independent*, 74:1419-1420; *World's Work*, 26:195-201; *Japanese American Monthly Review*, July, 1913, pp. 1, 11. This is perhaps the best example of the charges against the Japanese.

41. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, p. 15, quoting Chester H. Rowell.

42. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 91-96, gives a full explanation, which is followed here.

arrangement; that desire alone shows that they have in them the making of good citizens, since good citizenship is so largely dependent on the family relation, the settled status of the father, and his desire to make a home for himself. In spite of the fact, then, that the majority of the Japanese in this country come from the "lowest" or agricultural classes in Japan,⁴³ their desire to marry women of their own race, and their desire for economic independence mentioned previously, argue strongly against the probability of the truth of the wholesale charges of Japanese immorality, and in favor of their uprightness and the likelihood of their becoming good citizens.⁴⁴

The sweeping nature of the charges of immorality, as well as the misinterpretation of the "Picture Bride" movement by Americans ignorant of Japanese customs and character, is characteristic likewise of other serious charges against the morals of the Japanese.⁴⁵ Space does not permit a detailed account of these, but a typical one is that the Japanese do not keep their word; that they are unfaithful to contract. Perhaps some explanation of the Japanese character will help to make clear why charges of this type may be so widely made, and help determine to what extent the faults attributed to them in these charges are fixed characteristics of the whole race.⁴⁶

There is no doubt that the Japanese do not always keep their word; but what is the cause of this fault? Hopeless moral defectiveness? Not necessarily. The fault probably goes back to the Japanese feudal system maintained for a thousand years.⁴⁷ Under this system courage, loyalty and politeness were stressed; to be courteous was above being accurate.⁴⁸ Courtesy even changed the grammatical structure of the Japanese language, developing honorific particles in place of personal pronouns.⁴⁹ Saying the polite thing, even under unpleasant circumstances, became the rule, so generally accepted that the Japanese always knew how to make allowance for the habit and were not deceived by the polite answer; they knew by other signs what the real answer was. Is it not conceivable that the Japanese could hardly outgrow the influence of this training in a half century? No wonder, then, that we think they deliberately lie when, politely

43. *Senate Document* 633, p. 8.

44. *Survey*, 30:332-336.

45. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 14-16.

46. *Forum*, 50:82-93; *Annals of the American Academy*, 34: 223-243.

47. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 17 and ff.

48. *Survey*, 30:335.

49. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, p. 47.

saying "yes," they may mean "no." (It should be remembered that there is no Japanese word meaning exactly "yes." "Yes" to them means "I am paying attention.")⁵⁰ And in this connection, the lack of time consciousness on the part of Japanese should also be noted.⁵¹ Formerly, clocks were almost unknown in Japan; time was of no importance.⁵² What is more natural, then, than that the Japanese should be called unfaithful to contract,⁵³ and untrustworthy, when the real trouble is that what means one thing to them often means another to us, or that we fail to remember their past training, just as they fail to appreciate our standards of business morality? In view of these facts, it seems very possible that in the light of accurate knowledge of Japanese character and customs,⁵⁴ many of the charges against Japanese morality will in all probability assume something of their just proportions.

So much for the moral objections to the Japanese. Others could be cited, but they are all more or less alike—a combination of truth and falsehood and misrepresentation and misunderstanding, and often of a kind from which immigrants from other nations are not free: the only difference is, the Japanese with these faults are singled out to be discriminated against. Something of the same misrepresentation and misunderstanding and inconsistency will likewise be found to color the racial objections which furnish so strong a basis for the desire to banish the Japanese from the United States.⁵⁵ These objections are varied and often contradictory, but in general the strongest ones run something like this: "The 'Jap' insists on racial equality;" "the 'Jap' is inferior to us;" (or he is not inferior,⁵⁶ whichever you choose, for exclusionists do not always agree); "the 'Jap' is deceitful and inscrutable; you never know what's going on behind his mask;" "racial differences between Americans and Japanese are too great to be bridged; they won't assimilate;" and, climactically, "would you let your daughter marry a 'Jap'?"

These are characteristic objections, but are they valid ones? First, the Japanese insist on equality. To my mind the fact that they do so does them credit, especially since we recognize their nation as a

50. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, p. 48.

51. "Before 1860 Japanese time was valueless, a drug on the market."—*Century*, 86:597.

52. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 48-49.

53. *Survey*, 30:336.

54. *World's Work*, 26:199; *Annals of the American Academy*, 34:234 and ff.

55. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 16-21.

56. *The Japanese American Monthly Review*, July, 1913, p. 11.

world power and yet refuse to treat their citizens in this country on a par with immigrants from other world powers. Indeed, the very things in American life that make strongly for democracy are insistence on the man-to-man equality of different races and the admission of all men into citizenship. Moreover, the Japanese has proved his equality far more than the Mexican, for example; and he is a far more desirable citizen than many that have come over from Europe.⁵⁷ The Chinaman submitted and was barred; the Japanese is asserting his rights⁵⁸ and one of these days he will get them. His refusal to submit or be rated as an inferior is a point in his favor; and is not our insistence on his inferiority a point against our supposed superiority? Should we fear him if we were quite certain he was an inferior?⁵⁹

Similarly, let us examine the peculiarly interesting objection to the Japanese based on his "inscrutability," his "impassive face," his apparent deceitfulness, that racial something that makes people say he is not frank and cannot be trusted. Possibly these things and our aversion to the Japanese because of them, whether they be real or fancied, may be explained in part from physiological and historical standpoints. The immobile face, the absence of unconscious movements of the eyes, the mask-like inscrutability—all are probably an outgrowth of social habit and tradition, the result of the practice of stoicism. Feudalism in Japan made it "imperative that men should not wear their hearts or minds on their sleeves. Stolid expression, concealing whatever might be going on within, was more useful in the struggle for existence than a coat of mail; and this became the social custom . . . and long since a race character," apparently but not necessarily congenital. For Japanese children, it is interesting to note, when reared from infancy in this country, develop habits of facial expression like those of American children; even native Japanese who come to America acquire enough mobility of face later to appear different to comrades fresh from Japan.⁶⁰

Another objection to the Japanese is frequently expressed as follows: "Racial differences between Japanese and Americans are too great; they aren't assimilable. The Japanese is a Mongolian; and look at the negro problem; let us not add another race problem to that." The answers to these objections depend more or less on the

57. *Century*, 88:108.

58. *Fortnightly Review*, 101:886.

59. *North American Review*, 197: 734.

60. Discussion follows Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 132-134.

difference between facts and misconceptions, and on the definition of assimilation and what makes for it. First of all, it is not necessarily a fact that the Japanese is a Mongolian.⁶¹ "It will not be easy to prove the Japanese a Mongolian," says David Starr Jordan.⁶² Again, the plea that we do not want another race problem, suggests that our objections to the Japanese are based on race prejudice and a willingness to judge first and then fit the facts in, rather than to go by facts and then judge. Our narrow conception of assimilation proves this. What is assimilation? Is it necessarily blood amalgamation through intermarriage, or is it a thorough adoption of our customs, our standards of living, and the attainment of a respect for our ideals, political and moral? Those who assert Japanese unassimilability because there cannot safely be intermarriage between Japanese and Americans, as well as those who hold that there can be assimilation only through intermarriage—which they will not tolerate—are surely taking a narrow view of the assimilation question. Intermarriage is not necessary.⁶³ Assimilation is largely a matter of being an American in America; of being identified "with the highest and best American ideals, without any implication of identity in racial physical phenomena." If that is true, then indeed the Japanese have made very definite progress toward assimilation, more so than hundreds of clans of Russians, Poles, Germans and other European immigrants who have successfully resisted assimilation with our civilization. Dozens of instances point toward the assimilative ability of the Japanese; they are eager to learn English; they read and take many English magazines and newspapers;⁶⁴ they insist on schooling for their children; and they adopt American dress to a very great extent. Do not these facts indicate a capability of assimilation that belies the charge that the Japanese are unassimilable?⁶⁵ Indeed, Japanese American-born children have been known, for example, to grow up American in every way, even to the extent that they side with American children against Japan in the war talk between these two nations.⁶⁶

61. *North American Review*, 197: 721-723.

62. *Independent*, 74:978.

63. *Independent*, 74:1419-1420; Thomas: *The American Negro*, p. 423; *Japanese American Monthly Review*, July, 1913, p. 2; *Outlook*, 104:739-740.

64. *Senate Document* 633, p. 159.

65. *Independent*, 74: 1324, 1419-1420.

66. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, p.162; *Independent*, 75:138-142.

And finally, what about the matter of marriage? Does the possibility of intermarriage involve a valid objection to the presence of the Japanese? If there is intermarriage, would resulting offspring necessarily be more Japanese than American? Will there be dangerous physiological effects from the intermixture of the two races? The facts are that intermarriage between Americans and Japanese has been the exception, not the rule—except the marriage in the biological sense which Americans apparently do not shrink from with any colored race. The Japanese have themselves tended always to keep their race pure and even under difficulties marry within the race, as the “Picture Bride” movement shows. On the other hand, successful and happy marriages of Americans and Japanese are not unknown, and the Americanization of children of mixed parentage reared in this country among American children has been all that any one could ask.⁶⁷ It is true that evidence enough has not yet been gathered to prove anything with finality one way or another; but examination of the facts will show that there is as much evidence toward the successful intermingling of Japanese and American blood as there is to the contrary.

To summarize, then, the Japanese problem in the United States has two aspects: economic and racial. On the one hand, California and other Western States are justified in demanding freedom from the fear of an overwhelming inroad of cheap laborers who have much lower standards of living than Americans; and on the other hand, it is a fact that Japanese immigrants, while they have proved as satisfactory in practically all ways as immigrants from other nations, are denied ownership of land in the State where half of them live, and, in general, contrary to the spirit of our treaty with Japan, are made to feel the effects of race discrimination, which they deeply resent. The second aspect of the problem involves the more vital matter—race prejudice on the part of Americans toward the Japanese, a feeling that has not sprung up in a day, yet which is perhaps as much due to misunderstanding and ignorance on our part as to the faults of the Japanese nation.

A solution of this problem may be found, it seems to me, in a practical application of the teachings of Christ to the situation: in

67. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, chapters 7 and 8, goes into considerable detail on this point.

facing the facts, and then finding a remedy in harmony with the Golden Rule.⁶⁸

Let us first see how Christ would regard our problem. We know in general that his view of immigration would harmonize with the Golden Rule; but more specific ideas of what he would have us do for immigrants are deducible from his teachings. From his remarks about the "stranger within thy gates" and the example he set every time opportunity offered itself, we know that Christ would first of all be practical. If he were on earth now and were living in California there is no doubt that he would welcome the immigrant, not exclude him; and then he would supply the stranger with material assistance if the alien happened to need it. More than that, he would welcome the immigrant as a brother, which means that no stranger would be discriminated against because of color or race; all men alike would be welcome. His teachings concerning the unity of mankind the world over would be exemplified in his actions toward the Japanese immigrant. This we know from what he says in Matthew VIII, 11: "And I say unto you, That many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven." He says this because he had seen in his own day the persecution of one so-called race by another. Indeed, the doctrine of the brotherhood of man is without doubt one of the doctrines that he teaches most strongly; and his teaching in it is in direct opposition to our treatment of the Japanese.

These teachings of Christ and the principles of the Golden Rule in general are certainly applicable in a practical way to the economic problem presented by the Japanese in the United States. That problem, involving on the one hand the just protection of our citizens from an influx of immigrants of very different, and lower, standards of living, and on the other hand, the discrimination by the United States against aliens who are as good immigrants as those from other nations of the same rank, should be solved only on the basis of fair and undiscriminating treatment for the Japanese.⁶⁹ That is, the Japanese should be accorded the same rights as immigrants from other

68. More than one person has suggested Golden Rule treatment as the only solution for the problem. See *Living Age*, 282:387-392; *Independent*, 74:978; Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, p. 111.

69. Treatment on a basis of equality is constantly gaining supporters. See *Literary Digest*, 49:263-264; *Outlook*, 104:755-757; *Independent*, 74:975-978.

countries at the same time that the Pacific coast is protected. Practical measures consistent with the teachings of Christ that will satisfy both of these requirements, and the means of securing them, will now be considered.

First we must decide whether we are to continue virtually to exclude the Japanese as we now do.⁷⁰ Is exclusion of this sort to be dreamed of? Surely not. For several reasons it seems absurd and even senseless to say that the Japanese are not at all wanted in this country. First of all, if we keep the spirit of our treaty with Japan we will relax our present laws. The treaty referred to is that made in 1911, which stresses the idea of equality and treatment similar to that accorded the "most-favored" nation, but which carefully omits any reference to citizenship and the like.⁷¹ Again, the present policy of exclusion means that we virtually isolate ourselves from the Japanese nation. That we could practice such a policy in these days of international intercommunication seems ridiculous; did not Japan herself relinquish a similar policy of exclusion—at *our* request? Surely the benefits of over-sea acquaintanceship should not be scorned thus. We need Japan, and Japan needs us; and no better way of complete national understanding is open, it seems to me, than that of migration from one country to another and the spread of friendly intelligence that always follows. This most natural means of really acquainting the two peoples we are totally disregarding; instead, we are permitting misunderstanding and ill feeling to be provoked. And finally, besides the necessity of treaty keeping and the folly of national isolation, we should allow Japanese immigration if we allow other immigration, simply because the Japanese have proved themselves as good citizens as other immigrants, even though laboring under the handicaps of economic discrimination and race prejudice.

The objection is at once offered: we simply cannot have Japanese immigration, or millions of Japanese will swarm in each year, as other immigrants have done on the Atlantic coast. Here the interests of the United States must be considered. We Americans have always recognized the right of a people to emigrate, to seek better homes, to improve their condition. We have, moreover, been so liberal that

70. *Survey*, 30:332.

71. Gulick; *The American Japanese Problem*, pp.328-330, gives the text of the treaty of 1911. See also *Literary Digest*, 49:48-50.

until recently we have failed to exercise to the fullest degree our rights concerning immigration: namely, the right of the country entered by immigrants to say who shall and who shall not enter.⁷² Thousands of criminals, paupers, and diseased victims of the slums of Europe have been dumped upon our shores in the last century; only in the past few years have we been at all adequately protecting ourselves by disqualifying prospective immigrants on such grounds as lack of money, disease, and criminality. That we have a right to do this and should exercise that right, no one can deny. We have something to gain, but often more to lose through the entrance of any immigrant. On the other hand, he can become a citizen almost immediately, thereby participating at once in our political and economic life; he has almost everything to gain and little to lose. In one way he is an asset, but in another he is a great liability; so we have a just right to consider carefully the effects of his entrance on our institutions, and to exclude him if his presence here would tend to endanger our national life.

We need, then, a way to meet the fear of an overwhelming influx of Japanese, and yet a means that will not violate the Golden Rule: we want to let Japanese enter, but we know that too many would undoubtedly seriously endanger our political, social, and economic life—probably to an unusual extent, because of the consequent race friction, which is less important in the case of European immigrants. But, according to the Golden Rule, we have a right first of all to protect ourselves, if too many Japanese would injure us, just as Japan would have a right to restrict excessive and injurious immigration of Americans into Japan; yet we do not want complete isolation. The solution, then, is neither complete exclusion nor unrestricted Japanese immigration but, in a word, limited Japanese immigration.⁷³ The means of securing this will be explained presently.

Let us assume for the moment that the Japanese are allowed to enter this country in limited numbers. Even then they would still be, under present circumstances, at a great disadvantage. Right now they cannot, in California at least, where about half of them have always lived, own any agricultural land permanently, or pur-

72. *Fortnightly Review*, 101:890.
Any recent book on immigration will bear out this discussion of the immigrant problem.

73. *Outlook*, 104:739-740.
The suggestion of limited immigration has been made by various writers, including ex-President Roosevelt.

chase any, or lease agricultural land for a period longer than three years; and in other States they are favored little more. Neither may they become citizens in any State. Since they would have no political rights and would have at best an unsteady economic standing, the mere allowing of limited immigration would help the Japanese problem little. The Japanese would still have just reason to resent being discriminated against—and they feel discrimination keenly.⁷⁴ These and other considerations urge the final step that will solve the economic problem afforded by the presence of the Japanese and solve it with justice to all concerned: namely, the admission of the Japanese to citizenship.

The admission of the Japanese to citizenship would automatically solve practically all of our economic difficulties with the Japanese, except that regarding the amount of immigration to be allowed. Once they were citizens, they would have the right to vote; they could own land; their feeling that they were being unjustly discriminated against would cease; and the story of their just treatment here would spread to their friends in Japan, convincing the great body of Japanese people of our good will, better than any number of well phrased diplomatic notes possibly could. Economically and politically, then, the problem, so far as Japan's interests are concerned, would be completely solved, and the racial problem would be far nearer solution, simply through our allowing Japanese to become citizens, and giving them a certain though not unrestricted right to enter this country.

Limiting the immigration of the Japanese, however, is really a corollary of a major proposition, that all immigrants, of whatever race, should be treated alike. It follows, then, that to limit Japanese immigration means to limit all immigration. This would seem, at first glance, like upsetting our entire immigration regulations, just to humor the Japanese. But aside from the mere matter of being consistent and treating the Japanese equally with the immigrants from other nations,⁷⁵ it is a fact that a general law limiting the immigration from other nations as well as Japan is not an idle or untimely suggestion. It is well known that the immigrants received on the Atlantic coast in recent years have been in almost every way far

74. *World's Work*, 26:144-146; Ellwood: *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p.207.

75. *Literary Digest*, 49:263-264.

inferior to those received twenty or thirty years ago: in literacy, standards of living, and capability of being readily assimilated into our national life. We have been, more and more, getting "undesirable citizens" by letting in everybody.⁷⁶

A law, then, not discriminating between races, but limiting the number of immigrants of any one race or country to a certain number each year, would not only solve the Japanese problem without discriminating against Japan, but would also protect us in more than one way. Such a law has already been suggested to the Senate Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.⁷⁷ Briefly, it would provide that immigration into this country be based upon the number of members of any one race already here, and would allow, let us say, five per cent. each year, the idea being that assimilation of new immigrants depends largely on their finding friends or countrymen here who "know the ropes." If, for example, there were 100,000 Austrians here, then in one year, at the five per cent. rate, no more than 5,000 new Austrian immigrants might enter this country. In the case of a nation that was unrepresented here, a maximum number of, let us say, 5,000 might first be allowed to enter. The practicability of this plan is evident. There could not be an overwhelming immigration from any one country in any one year; our standards of living, our social and political institutions, could not be greatly affected by this gradual seepage of immigrants. Only the arrival of great numbers would be prevented by this law; assimilation would not be prevented but, rather, facilitated.

Let us assume, then, that these provisions would solve the economic problem; now for a solution of the racial issue. For even though the Japanese were treated on a par with all other immigrants, the race problem resulting from their rubbing against the none too enlightened or sympathetic American would by no means be solved by the purely economic reforms brought about through a new immigration law. The more serious matter, therefore, is essentially that of overcoming race prejudice. The only remedy that seems suitable—and it is one that cannot accomplish the desired result in a day—is education: of the Japanese immigrant, and of us Americans.⁷⁸ That is, the Jap-

76. See any recent book on immigration.

77. See pamphlet 4. Such a law was offered to the Committee January 31, 1914.

78. Discussion follows Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, chapter 17.

anese immigrant should be educated in our customs and institutions so that he will not needlessly provoke criticism through his ignorance of our ways. He owes it to this country to fall in with what is desirable in our civilization, to uphold our institutions, to become an American citizen, as far and as quickly as he possibly can. On the other hand, we Americans need to know more about the Japanese in order to do him justice. Without doubt, much of our feeling against him is the result of our ignorance of his history, of the facts about racial differences, of the truth about what is possible and desirable when two such different races and civilizations as those of the United States and Japan meet and try to exist side by side. We are ignorant, woefully ignorant, of facts about the Japanese,⁷⁹ and of the problems of assimilation in connection with the immigrant. Without such knowledge we can never treat the Japanese fairly; and the worst part of it is, we are almost wholly indifferent as to whether we ever learn anything about the problem or not.⁸⁰

Not so with the Japanese. They have made decided efforts to adapt themselves to our civilization, even though they lack the rights of citizenship, and suffer general racial discrimination.⁸¹ Indeed, they have seemed more than willing to do their part; now let us do ours. First, let us take a hand in the education of the Japanese immigrant and help make him a good citizen. This probably spells more or less government direction of the immigrant from the moment he arrives until he has become a naturalized citizen. The first thing we should do is to register all aliens, and then see that steps are taken toward their education in our language, our laws, and our history. Not only should they be kept track of and educated, but they should all the time be preparing, under our direction, to renounce all allegiance to Japan and as speedily as possible to become naturalized citizens cognizant both of their rights and of their responsibilities as American citizens. Especially should assistance be given to help them acquire the English language. This could be done by government aid to States, cities, and towns providing facilities for the education of aliens. To be sure, this would take time and money and

79. *Outlook*, 104:755-757.

80. Not until five years ago did we have authoritative information about the Japanese in California.

81. This discussion follows Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, chapter 6, which gives a detailed account of what the Japanese in this country have done to adapt themselves to our civilization.

trouble; but if we honestly desire that the alien become a good citizen, we shall not shrink from our responsibility, once we allow him to enter this country. We have long been indifferent, but the time for indifference to the education of immigrants, to the continuation in this country of clannish "Little Russias," is past. We must do our part toward making the immigrant one of us.⁸²

On the other hand, we, the American people, need to know more about the Japanese: to understand why we fear his color, his strange looks, why we shudder at intermarriage with him, and how we are both inconsistent and unjust in our race prejudice. In considering the purely racial side of the problem, we need light on such things as this question of intermarriage, and on the much discussed matter of assimilation. First, what about the intermarriage of Japanese and Americans or, for that matter, of any two races so different? Does it mean that the offspring is Japanese rather than American? Will such intermarriage result in unfavorable physiological effects?⁸³ It is true that the tendency has been against any marked amount of intermarriage between the Japanese and Americans; yet the facts about the possibilities should be known, for one of the commonest means of assimilating any new people is intermarriage with our native stock.

The other phase of assimilation on which more light is needed is the sort of assimilation that goes on without intermarriage. It may be called social assimilation.⁸⁴ Its possibilities are suggested by numerous examples that could be cited of the complete Americanization of Japanese children who have been reared and educated in America. The idea is that one inherits biological but not social characteristics: a Japanese child raised in America by Americans and sent to our public schools becomes completely one of us. It is the same transformation that occurs in the children of Jews, Italians, Poles and others when they have grown up with American children, learned our language, thought our thoughts and revered our ideals.

How can we learn the facts about the assimilability of different peoples, either through intermarriage or social assimilation? A

82. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, chapter 17, outlines a policy which this paper in the main follows.

83. It is often asserted that the offspring will be sterile. See Ellwood: *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 207.

84. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, chapters 7 and 8, goes fully into the problems of assimilation.

government commission to investigate seems a reasonable solution;⁸⁵ indeed, the number of immigrants constantly entering this country and the necessity, more and more, of meeting on equal terms such different peoples as the Chinese, the Malays, even the Asiatic Indians, and the Russians, alone would seem to justify the establishment of such a commission. At least, it would help solve the problem, even though it reported unfavorably, and would guide us in the direction of a wise and humane policy toward the Japanese.

A second sort of education is needed for us to cope with the Japanese problem. What do we Americans know of Japanese civilization: of Japanese history, literature, heroes, development? We know all about the rise of the Roman Empire and the story of medievalism in Europe, but we know practically nothing of Japan or China. Yet one of these days we are undoubtedly going to have as broad international dealings with both of these nations as we have had with Europe; and in many ways we shall benefit by the Eastern contact, just as we have by the European, if we try to understand the East as it really is, not as the "Yellow Perilists" picture it. The simplest means to get more light on the Japanese would be to teach more about Japan in our public schools. That education in Japanese history and customs would go far toward breaking down, in the course of a generation or two, this anti-Japanese feeling that is too often unreasonable or based on misconceptions, no one can doubt who believes in finding out the facts first, and judging afterwards.

In conclusion: the American Japanese problem has been analyzed and found to involve questions dependent mainly on economic and racial differences; questions which can be reasonably settled to the satisfaction of both nations by a practical application of the teachings of Christ and the Golden Rule. True, only the outlines of a possible solution have been given here; to prove beyond a doubt the absolute feasibility of the remedies suggested is too much to demand in the limits of this paper; indeed, the author will consider this discussion successful if even the possibility of a solution based on the Golden Rule is made to seem worthy of consideration. But it seems reasonable, if we look around us, to say that Golden Rule treatment will succeed; and that is, after all, everything that any one could ask for

85. Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, chapter 17, suggests this and other remedies offered here.

in solving the Japanese question. Nor is the idea a new or impracticable one; as a matter of fact, we Americans are ready for just this sort of international relationship. Recent movements in the United States seem to indicate a growing tendency to accept the idea that right treatment pays. It may be seen internally in the desire of the employer to treat the employee better, the results showing in better feeling between employer and employee, and in better returns from capital invested. It may be seen externally in the striking tendency of our government recently to try the Golden Rule in international relations, even though maintenance of that policy is by no means the rule as yet. Witness our restraint as regards Mexico; our expression of our willingness to pay Colombia; our repeal of the "free tolls" provision of the Panama Canal act; our pledge of no more territorial conquest on the American continent. The tendency is, I repeat, toward the square deal among nations, and probably foremost among the nations that are going to forward that tendency is the United States.

Let us consider, then, what would be the possible benefits to the United States if we should treat the Japanese somewhat as outlined in this paper, on the basis of Golden Rule considerations. And I wish to emphasize at this point this idea: that practical or material benefits should result from practical Christian treatment, just as there should result benefits which may be called ethical or spiritual. It is usually taken for granted that the latter sort of rewards or benefits will come for all good deeds; but the material sort should not be neglected. They are the visible fruits of good conduct, and their very concreteness goes a long way, it is needless to say, toward giving the essentially commercial spirit of the modern world a respect for the Golden Rule in business as well as in church on Sundays. Indeed, it is a question in my mind whether the movements in the United States for better hours, "safety first," and better relations between employer and employee, are not initiated solely for economic purposes, the spiritual benefits, like the inward glow that one feels after doing a good deed, coming afterward to show that there is also a spiritual reward for doing the right and the square thing.

There should be, then, both material and spiritual benefits to be derived from a practical application of the teachings of Christ to the

Japanese problem. Something of the immediate material benefits that would come in the United States has already been hinted at in the fact that the Japanese are good farmers: their presence tends to increase the value of land, they develop new agricultural industries, they furnish a supply of labor hard to obtain otherwise, and their standards of living, tending to approach ours, will in time make them as good customers of our captains of industry as any other people. If the Japanese become good citizens and are given their rights, they will undoubtedly add greatly to the material wealth of this country.⁸⁶

But far greater possibilities in material benefits lie beyond the Pacific,—possibilities that we are going to realize as much through good will as any other thing. We know from experience what a Chinese boycott can do to trade; yet we continue by our discrimination against not only Japan but China, gradually to build up in the Orient a feeling against ourselves—and that means, first of all, against our goods. The boundless possibilities for commercial exchange now developing in China have attracted all the great trading nations of the world. This Oriental trade is going to be reached, I repeat, as much through good will as anything else.⁸⁷ But how can good will exist in the Orient toward the United States when the Japanese and the Chinese are discriminated against by the United States? Restricting the discussion to Japan alone does not alter the result. Japan is the interpreter of the East,⁸⁸ and is probably going to be more influential in China than any other nation. If we continue to discriminate against the Japanese and exclude them, as at present, the Chinese will share the feeling of the Japanese against us; and when the story of the outrages on Chinamen in this country between 1860 and 1900 becomes generally known in China, it is going to take more than kind words on our part to keep the good will of China. The point, then, is simply this: commercial reasons alone, if not the desire to do the right thing, should show us that we should change our tactics toward the Japanese immigrants in the United States and treat them on a par with other immigrants. Let us by this means get started right and first gain the good will of Japan, the most advanced nation of the Orient; the good will of China will come in time if our practical Christian policy is maintained.

For those of us, therefore, who must see financial returns before

86. *Independent*, 74:1019-1022.
87. *Independent*, 61:1425-1426.

88. *Century*, 88:108.

we do the right thing, let the foregoing suffice. But there are, it seems to me, still greater rewards in store for the United States in treating the Japanese immigration problem on a Christian basis, and with a brief indication of these I shall end. Here stands the United States today in a unique and commanding position among the world powers. She is the one great nation not at war at the present time; and that she will have a prominent place at the conference table when the treaty of peace is at last signed in Europe no one doubts; the frantic desire of every one of the warring nations to win our sympathy and to justify themselves in our eyes shows what a remarkable position we now hold.

But this position is fully as striking as regards the Orient as it is toward war-shaken Europe; for there in the far East is another question that we shall some day have a hand in solving: Is there anything in this "Yellow Peril" talk? Will the "teeming millions" of China and Asia, armed with modern inventions, some day become involved in a war comparable to the present European struggle? Is the modernization of Asia, too, going to proceed with the sword? If there is any such danger, now is the time for us to use our opportunity. We are at peace; we alone are able to carry on missionary work in the Orient without entirely being hypocrites; we of all nations of the world have at the present time some slight ethical standing; we alone can with consistency sow the seeds of peace and international brotherhood in Asia.

To be able to solve the Japanese problem on a Christian basis, thus setting an example of Christian relations between two nations as far apart as two nations can possibly be—is this not our opportunity to do the world a great good? Not that our treating the Japanese fairly will at once make for eternal peace or Christian relations with the Orient; not at all. But it will be a start, something which we have not definitely made as yet, a step that will, at least, involve us in no inconsistencies. Already we have been a great force in building up both Japan and China; it is an interesting fact that practically all the men at the head of the Revolutionists in China were Chinese educated in American universities.⁸⁹ But at the same time that we have professed the greatest friendship toward them, there have always been great inconsistencies in our treatment of Japan and China, and

89. *North American Review*, 197:
189-202.

there is a great one right now in our treatment of their immigrants in this country. The inconsistency must be removed, the profession must be backed up by concrete action, before we can hope to be taken seriously. And the first step toward such a policy of international Christian relationship between nations would, it seems to me, be the solving of the American Japanese problem on the basis of the Golden Rule. To have the honor of having taken the first step toward promoting international good will between the East and West is surely a reward worth working for. To take that step would be to do something toward realizing the brotherhood of man,—something that would carry increased significance and bear fruit endlessly in the years, to come when the nations of the world will forget racial differences and national selfishness and work together for the best interests of all mankind.

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